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LETTER
TO THE
EARL OF CARLISLE,
Es. Es.

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O'Connor (Arthur)

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LETTER

TO THE

EARL OF CARLISLE,

OCCASIONED BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S

REPLY

TO

EARL FITZWILLIAM'S TWO LETTERS:

EXHIBITING

THE PRESENT STATE OF PARTIES IN IRELAND—
VINDICATING THE LATE VICEROY'S ADMINIS-
TRATION, AND THE CHARACTERS OF THE PER-
SONS WITH WHOM HE ASSOCIATED IN COUNCIL,
FROM THE MALEVOLENT ASPERSIONS LEVELLED
AT THEM—AND DETAILING THE SECRET
CAUSES WHICH LED TO HIS RECAL.

Justum et tenacem propositi Virum
Non Civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis Tyranni
Mente quatit solida, —

HORACE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR B. CROSSBY, STATIONERS' COURT, LUDGATE STREET;
J. LEE, NEW STREET, COVENT GARDEN; AND ALL OTHER BOOK-
SELLERS.

1795.

LETTER

TO THE

LORDS OF PARLIAMENT

AND

THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

AND

IN WITNESS WHEREOF

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT
HAS CAUSED THESE LETTERS TO BE PRINTED
AND THE CHIEF CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENT
HAS CAUSED THESE LETTERS TO BE PRINTED
FROM THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES DEPOSITED
AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND DEPOSITED THE SECRET
OFFICE WHICH LED TO HIS DEATH



LONDON:

PRINTED BY THE STATIONER, GENERAL, AND PRINTER TO THE PARLIAMENT
AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, AND AT THE HOUSE OF LORDS

1753

A
LETTER,

Ec. Ec.

London, May 24, 1795.

MY LORD,

THE attention of the world has been irresistibly attracted, and the public mind highly interested by the recent publication of some Letters which lately passed between your Lordship and Earl FITZWILLIAM.

But, however the disclosure of a private and confidential correspondence might excite general curiosity, the subject matter of which that correspondence treats is of such important and momentous concern to the peace, welfare, and integrity of the British Empire, as to absent

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every

every less interesting consideration, and to require and justify a strict investigation of the proceedings which gave rise to those extraordinary epistles.

When, my Lord, an individual commits himself at the tribunal of the Public, he must be prepared to encounter such animadversions and remarks on his conduct and his writings, as the Public, without respecting titles or persons, is always disposed to bestow.

It was natural to expect, from the long and unreserved friendship which had subsisted between your Lordship and Earl FITZWILLIAM—that your Letter would prove a commentary on his—that it would further elucidate the mysterious business which occasioned it—and that, at least, it would zealously vindicate the conduct and character of the noble Earl from the obloquy and misrepresentation with which they had been unfairly and insidiously attacked. They, however, who expect to find any such satisfactory matters in your Lordship's "Reply," will, I believe, find themselves wholly disappointed.

I shall not hazard a conjecture—what could be your private motives for giving to the public thirteen pages of courtly verbiage, that scarcely skim over the subject; a subject too which your
noble

noble correspondent pressed so earnestly on your attention; but the tenor and meaning of your Answer are sufficiently obvious, and might be expressed in fourteen words, *viz.* that you disapproved of the noble Earl's conduct altogether, during his Viceroyship of Ireland.

The spirit and character of modern politics, and of modern parties, are indeed hostile to all the ties of amity, and to every endearing connection and relationship which binds man to man: for no sooner does this inimical spirit fully occupy the human heart, than it immediately extinguishes all its nobler sentiments, it alienates the mind from its former affections, converts the sweet emotions of friendship itself into feelings of irreconcilable enmity, and "carries the poison of distrust and resentment into houses never before at variance."

We may then cease to admire, that you, my Lord, acting as you do with the party that has treated Earl FITZWILLIAM with such flagrant injustice, should take a decided part against him, and censure his conduct in a stile and diction, varnished indeed with copious professions of friendship, but devoid of one satisfactory reason or convincing argument, to substantiate your allegations.

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Your

Your Lordship frequently alludes to a former Letter addressed to Earl FITZWILLIAM, which, we are led to suppose, provoked his answers; this first letter appears not to have been published, but you seem to have recapitulated its contents in the one now before the public.

Concerning Earl FITZWILLIAM's late administration, you mention, (as stated in your former Letter) "that a general belief prevailed, "that in the noble Earl's final arrangements, "and concluding conversation with his Majesty's "Ministers, at which others assisted, it was settled, that no material measure, either as to *persons* or *things*, was to be decided upon without "further communication and concurrence with "the Cabinet of England." Now, my Lord, it appears that it was wholly unnecessary for you to repeat this assertion, inasmuch as your noble correspondent had, in his two answers to your first unpublished letter, explained in the most explicit and decisive language—the terms on which alone he consented to accept of the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.

And I pray you, my Lord, which is more deserving of credit, your statement, of the arrangements" founded on "a general belief," even although that statement might be countenanced by m—ft—l evasion or negation; or the open
and

and candid avowal of a Nobleman eminently distinguished by the honour and probity of his character, when at the same time, he solemnly stakes that honour, and that character on the truth of his assertions?

Lord FITZWILLIAM states, in his first Letter,—“ That the Emancipation of the Roman Catholics of Ireland was a measure determined on in the British Cabinet, even before the Duke of P— and his friends participated in its councils,—that it was the boast of the W— administration to have begun the business, and that, on the day of the Duke of P—— kissing hands, it was determined to bring it forwards this Session.”—In his Lordship’s second Letter he observes, that—“ first, the Catholic question entered for nothing into the real cause of his recal; and secondly, that from the very beginning, as well as in the whole proceedings of that fatal business, for such he feared he must call it, *he acted in perfect conformity with the original outline settled between him and his M——’s M——, previous to his departure from London.*” His Lordship proceeds to state further, “ that, from the year 1793,—(when the Roman Catholics obtained the elective franchise) he was decidedly of opinion,—that the work ought to be completed,

“ and

“and the Catholics relieved from every remaining disqualification. In this opinion the Duke of P—— uniformly concurred with him; and, when this question came under discussion previous to his departure for Ireland, he found the Cabinet, with Mr. P—— at their head, strongly impressed with the same conviction.” *Had I found it otherwise, adds* EARL FITZWILLIAM, *“I never would have undertaken the Government.”*

Such then, my Lord, is the real statement of the “previous Arrangement,” which contains such stubborn facts, and damning truths,—that, should it fail to attach at last a *Proteus* M——, he must be pronounced to be endued with political Infallibility.

It further appears—that the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in his official dispatches, regularly reported the progress that was making towards the total Emancipation of the Roman Catholics. Not, however, until the dismissal of the B——ds did he receive the slightest intimation of the impropriety or inexpediency of the measure.—

But, before we discuss that singular affair, it will be absolutely necessary, for its better and clearer comprehension, to take a short retrospective survey of the state of Ireland.

Your

Your Lordship seems to be satisfied, that from your own experience, when chief Governor of Ireland, you could assist your noble Friend with practical documents, which might be beneficially applied to his system of conduct in that important station.

My Lord, in this revolutionary age, it cannot be supposed that the routine of business in the management of the Irish Politics of your times, can apply to the present.

An abortive kind of revolution had taken place in that Kingdom; different Arrangements and other modes of conduct necessarily followed; a new Dynasty of Lord-Lieutenants commenced, and your Lordship will please to recollect—that you are chronicled among the last Viceroys of the old.

It must however be admitted,—that there is a resemblance in the measures and events that distinguished the latter part of your Lordship's administration in Ireland and the present times;—in the former period, we were involved in a ruinous and disastrous War; such exactly is our situation at present; Ireland was then, as now, in a state of alarming perturbation; and that nation, in your time, was struggling for its Rights and Liberties, against the over-ruling Power of an English P—— C——, as it is at present

present against its over-ruling Influence.—There is one other remarkable coincidence of circumstances,—your Lordship was also abruptly dismissed from your Government, and your successor (the Duke of Portland) nominated without the etiquette—*lamentabile dictu!*—without even the etiquette of a previous intimation. The causes of each event were however totally different. Your Lordship acting under a Cabinet of M——s, instituted, one would suppose, expressly for the punishment and ruin of a People, dealt out your pittances of freedom to the nation you governed, only as they were wrung by force from the iron gripe of Oppression, and you were recalled in consequence of a change of Ministry, and the establishment of a Whig administration, which, during its ephemeral existence, restored to Ireland its national independence, and snatched the whole Empire from imminent perdition.

The state of Parties in Ireland since the Revolution of 1688, has been inseparably connected with the three religious persuasions of its inhabitants, and the spirit of its Politics have arisen from the exertions of one of those Parties to maintain a domineering ascendancy over the rest.

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The governing Party are exclusively of the established church; of which it is worthy of remark, that its followers are less numerous, contrary to what obtains in other countries, than either of the other Sects, but for this very reason they enjoy an ampler dividend of the good things of the land: They form, as it were, a body corporate in the nation, that monopolizes all places of emolument, honour and patronage, in the revenue, the church, and the state. As matters of faith, they are great latitudinarians, lukewarm Christians, and very unworthy members indeed of the religion they profess. But if they are indifferent in spiritual, they make ample amends by an ardent pursuit of, and a zealous attachment to temporal concerns. An obsequiousness of demeanor, a supple pliability of principle that can, with the utmost facility, warp and twist and untwist itself conformably to the jarring and opposite measures of succeeding administrations, compose the chief political features of a Church-of-Ireland Man. God forbid! however, that this laxity of principle should attach itself to Protestantism in general. These errors are to be looked for in the political, not in the religious creed of its professors, among whom there are numbers distinguished by the most amiable philanthropy, and the most active bene-

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volence,

volence, virtues which peculiarly characterize the Protestant Christian. Nevertheless, these are the Gentry who in Ireland profess—that—“they” are totally at a loss to conceive what cause or “pretext the people can find to be discontented;” who continually expatiate on the enviable blessings of our glorious constitution, and who most eloquently declaim—over their claret—on the present happiness and rising prosperity of their country.

Wholly different from this last description of People, and rather more considerable as to number are the Dissenters: if we consider the qualities that distinguish them,—their industry, their love of order, their probity, their decorous manners, their amity—so truly christian—towards each other, their general information, their liberal regard for religious and political liberty, their adherence to the genuine principles and spirit of the English Constitution, and, finally, their generous and patriotic exertions to promote an union among Irishmen of every denomination,—if these be qualities that challenge the regard and esteem of good men,—then are the Irish sectaries, take them all in all, the most respectable class of people in Ireland, and undoubtedly as respectable as any nation on the face of the earth can boast of.

Your

Your Lordship need not be informed—that the preceding divisions of the inhabitants of Ireland are properly colonial; they indeed owe their origin to English and Scotch colonists, although their present descendants have been considerably blended with the natives by intermarriages; until of late, however, they were regarded by them, with envy and implacable hatred, as aliens, usurpers and robbers.

The aboriginal Irish, at this day, form more than two thirds of the population of the country. These are they, who, for six centuries have been treated with all the rigour, cruelty, and injustice, that the most insolent conquerors could exercise over the most abject slaves. Driven from their antient possessions and patrimonial inheritances, ex-pated from any participation in the laws of their invaders, insulted, enslaved, and murdered with impunity; is it to be wondered at—that they should cherish an invincible dislike of their oppressors, aggravated and inflamed, as it was, by a continual repetition, of their numerous wrongs, and by the additional stimulus of religious antipathy? Hence arose those ferocious hostilities and constant insurrections, marked by horrible and savage excesses, which blot and disfigure every page of Irish history, from its commencement even to the present times. Yet

these very natives, although misrepresented, and traduced as fierce and untameable barbarians, offer to the eye of Philosophy a most interesting picture. In them she recognizes a race indelibly stamped by the impressing hand of Nature with congenial vigour of body and energy of mind. Amid the humble cottages of these poor people she contemplates, at the close of the 18th century, the manners and character of the primitive ages,—love of indolence and of social enjoyments,—unostentatious and genuine hospitality,—warm friendship,—quick resentment,—implacable revenge,—constitutional courage,—and invincible fortitude; in fine, Philosophy will ascribe their virtues to the national character, but their vices to the errors of their government; the defects of their civil polity, and the almost total privation of civil liberty. Of the Roman Catholic Gentlemen it may be observed that they, in general, excel in personal and mental endowments, and by elegance of manners, and liberality of mind, very forcibly recommend the national virtues. Nor are the clergy of this persuasion less deserving of commendation; unremittingly attentive to their religious duties, indefatigable in their pastoral attendance, and exemplary in their lives,—to them the country is
more

more indebted for the preservation of its internal peace, than to all the penal laws and military establishments that government could institute. The unshaken loyalty of this great body of People to the crown of England, and to his Majesty's person, has never been impeached. Their generous conduct and noble fidelity,—in abandoning their all—to follow the desperate fortunes of a fugitive Prince,—prove their unequivocal attachment to Monarchy, which, on the total failure of the house of STUART, they have transferred to the illustrious house of BRUNSWICK. Even in the present unpopular War, have they ever flinched from their duty? Have they ever betrayed symptoms of disaffection? Ireland has furnished for the war not less than 120 thousand men; men who have, at all times, born the brunt of the battle; of these—three-fourths at least were Roman Catholics. And what after all do they demand?—That, they should be bound by the same laws, enjoy the same rights, and be interested in the defence of the constitution equally with the rest of their countrymen. Against this just plea the Coronation-Oath,—“for lack of argument,” is set up; as if the established religion is to be supported only by the persecution of all others; yet, by matchless inconsistency,

inconsistency, the E——sh G——t upholds in his hierarchy his holiness the Pope, recognizes the Roman Catholic as the established Religion in Corsica, and authorizes the establishment of the same Religion in the Provinces of Canada, while, at the same time, it refuses to concede to the just claims of three millions of loyal and petitioning subjects; and for what reason? merely because they are Roman Catholics!

Such, my Lord, are the characters and conditions of the three descriptions of people that compose the Irish nation. These, since the Revolution of 1688, formed three distinct Parties, actuated by different motives and interests, and regarding each other with enmity and distrust. It was the cruel and illiberal policy of G——t to foment and encourage these party distinctions, and by loading the Roman Catholic with an intolerable weight of penal laws, and by fettering him with arbitrary disqualifications, it vainly presumed that it had stifled and extinguished the spirit of the party most formidable for its numbers, and had disheartened—or intimidated—or bought off the others.

Thus was Ireland subjugated by the domination of an English P—— C—— which put in requisition

quisition its revenues, and controlled at will—its parliament, and its laws.

Now and then, however, the nation discovered symptoms of political existence. The first dawn of Irish freedom may be discerned on passing the Octennial Bill in the year 1768. The Parliament of Ireland, antecedent to that period, was only determinable on the demise of the Crown, and consequently could be deemed, at best, but an aristocratical senate. In 1770 an effort was made to ascertain the independence of the Irish Parliament, by rejecting the money-bill, a bill always framed conformable to Poyning's law, in the English Cabinet. The then Viceroy—Lord TOWNSHEND, could not relish such democratic proceedings, and the bill was therefore stifled at its birth. The intentions of the British Government towards Ireland, were indeed sufficiently obvious—by its introducing, and causing to be passed—the perpetual Mutiny-Bill, —an Act, which puts the Nation, at any time, under martial law, and secures to England her supremacy by the logic of the Bayonet.

At length—the GREAT EVENT commenced, which forms the most distinguished æra in the chronicles of the human race, and Ireland has had the honour of taking the lead among the nations

nations of Europe—in receiving lessons of liberty and independence from America.

During the fateful American war, by the mismanagement and improvidence of its conductors, Ireland was drained of its military and left absolutely defenceless. Then it was that the Deliverers of their Country—the IRISH VOLUNTEERS arose. The annals of nations furnish no example of a military institution that comprehended so much virtue and patriotism, or that was attended with such beneficial consequences. This singular army of Citizens—EDMUND BURKE,—long before his political apostacy,—defines—“New in its kind, and adequate in its purposes. It effected its end “without its exertion, it was not under the “authority of the law most certainly; but it “derived from an authority still higher; and “as they say of Faith, it is not contrary to “reason but above it; so this army did not “so much contradict the spirit of the law as “supersede it.” Protecting the Country from a threatened invasion may be reckoned among the least important of its services. So effectually were interior peace and security preserved, that the Banditti which infested the kingdom were no more heard of, and the very names of White-Boys, and Right-Boys, and
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Steel-Boys, and Defenders—ceased to be remembered. In fine, in this golden age of Ireland, the Jails were tenantless, and the Judges idle, the animosities of Party were extinguished, the rights of hospitality were liberally and universally exercised, without any discrimination of station or religion. Men, hitherto at variance—without knowing why, began to perceive that they were brethren and fellow citizens, whose rights and interests were nearly the same, and the Protestants became not less conscious than the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics—that they themselves were included in the subjection of their countrymen, and that they existed in a state of servile dependancy—at once the instruments and the slaves of foreign domination. Of this union of an armed nation—the partial but important revolution of 1782 was the natural consequence; and fear, together with the concurrence of a short-lived patriotic administration, obtained at length those just rights which national prejudice and illiberality never would have voluntarily conceded.

Irish independence was, however, virtually but nominal, forasmuch as British Supremacy gained by Influence what it lost in Power, and corruption was established into a system. “In *this country*,” Lord MOIRA emphatically observed,

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observed,

observed, "Corruption was supposed to exist; but here it had the decency to veil itself;—in Ireland, however, Corruption stalked abroad unveiled, and with the pravity of a prostitute."

This mode of proceeding, applying directly to the passions and weaknesses of men, has been but, too successful; but to make it yet surer, British Influence conjured up a state chimera, which has been termed "Protestant Ascendancy"—that served for a stalking-horse to entrap that honesty which it was unable to corrupt.

Such, my Lord, are the causes which may assist to develop the extraordinary conduct of the M—— in sacrificing a Nobleman no less eminent for his Abilities than his Virtues, together with the welfare of so considerable a part of the British Empire, and the consequent safety of the whole, to the patronage and support of a Junto, without whose assistance it would be impossible for him to preserve his dominancy over Ireland.

Of the removal of certain persons from official situations—Earl FITZWILLIAM has narrated the whole proceedings so circumstantially, and so perspicuously, that whoever is capable of feeling a generous or virtuous emotion, must, on the perusal of his letters, sincerely sympathize with

with him, and be fully convinced that "he had been compelled, by incessant solicitations and the most urgent importunities, to undertake the arduous task for which he relinquished all his comforts;—that the Catholic question entered not in the smallest degree into the cause of his recall;—that the terrifying enumerations of evils and miseries to result to the empire from a measure which his enemies affect to consider as having either originated exclusively with himself or been hurried on by him rashly, precipitately, or without consent or consultation *ought not to be regarded*;—for, had Mr. BERESFORD never been dismissed, these miseries would never have been heard of, and his Lordship would have remained;"—"but, so remaining," says his Lordship, "I should have been disgraced indeed; disgraced by the failure of all the measures which I had planned for the public welfare, and loaded with all the odium which *that man* and his connections have entailed upon that government which I was sent to displace.

You, my Lord, "pretend not to form a comprehension of the alarming Power to Government of the BERESFORD Family or Followers." In the foregoing pages I have endeavoured to trace the cause as well as to account for the

“Metamorphosis” from the “Clerks which you
“left them, to the Ministers which Lord FITZ-
“WILLIAM found them.”

That Nobleman was indeed most unfit for a
Lord Lieutenant of the old stamp; “his cha-
“racter was not made to be vile and subservi-
“ent.” He was rather too delicate to tread in
the dirty foot-prints of his predecessors, and too
proud to be checked with a hook in his nose,
by a M—— on this side of the water, and a
Lord C—— on the other. He was besides
too generous and too wise to barter his fame,
his honesty, and his nobility for the emoluments
of office.

Strange! that there are men, who, blinded
by vanity, avarice, or love of power, might
move in their proper sphere with credit to them-
selves and advantage to their neighbours, but
who wilfully forsake the obvious walk that na-
ture marked out for them, and impotently and
awkwardly essay to mount the ladder of ambi-
tion only for

The hand of Scorn
To point his slow and moving Finger at.

My Lord, it was impossible that the late Vice-
roy could fulfil the grand object of his mission,
without

without a total change of men and measures; but supposing the measures were not to be pursued, he was nevertheless justifiable in removing the men.

It is ever baleful to the welfare and happiness of the community, when a numerous party, cohering together by the cement of consanguinity and of interest, forms as it were, in the midst of a state, a center of attraction,—a nucleus of privileges, power and influence, whose vortex, pervading the utmost limits of the political system, whirls into its sphere of action every movement of the existing government, and involves in its own particular circumvolutions the general interests of the nation.

That the Irish first C—— of the R—— has been a faithful servant of the Crown is, I believe, unquestionable; but does it never happen—that a zealous supporter of its Prerogatives, proves himself, in the exercise of his office, an enemy to the general and local interests of the people?—Certain it is, that Mr. B—— is a most unpopular character in Ireland, and if the charges alledged against him be true, he justly earns his unpopularity.—He is accused of having encumbered the R—— by unnecessary vexations and perplexing exactions, which, while they embarrass the fair trader, contribute
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nothing to its increase. His support of the Distilleries and dereliction of the Breweries, is as notorious as it is flagitious; but by this, G—— obtains too important purposes,—an increase of Revenue, and a means of controlling the populace,—by rendering that infernal poison, Ardent Spirits, accessible to them, and thus keeping them in a state of depravity, ignorance, servility and wretchedness. The expenditure on the new Custom House and its appendages, with its indefinable train of peculating jobs, is another subject of public disgust and indignation. This stupendous and magnificent fabric, which is a monumental satire on the scanty trade of the Irish metropolis, is supposed to have cost the nation a million of money. A great part of it is appropriated for dwellings—or rather palaces—for the C——s. Mr. B—— has secured for himself the left Wing, which is fitted up in a stile of royal magnificence.

But, my Lord, suppose the *Family* and Followers had *not* engrossed all the lucrative posts and employments, together with all the power, patronage, and influence in every department of the state;—admitting that they are *not* proud, venal, rapacious, and despotic;—yet, forasmuch as they have incurred public odium, as they have become obnoxious to the people,
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and as their supremacy is universally reprobated and detested, it would surely have been wise in his M——'s M—— at this critical period, to have consented to the removal of such men from official and ostensible situations.

After all, the dismissal of the B—— was perhaps but a secondary consideration with Mr. P——: for are there any supposable amities or connections that a minister would not sacrifice to his views and interests? The truth is, the men with whom Earl FITZWILLIAM associated in his councils, possessing the entire confidence of the people, and resolving to pursue patriotic and popular measures, were *therefore* peculiarly obnoxious to the M——; for could he consistently countenance such measures in Ireland, while he himself pursued diametrically opposite ones here?

My Lord! In times like the present, this public struggle for patronage is unseasonable and unseemly. To squabble about the plunder of a ship just on the point of foundering in a storm, has always been considered as the height of madness, and the last efforts of despair.

The advocates for the M——, in this unprecedented case, ground all their arguments on two points—that it is the King's undoubted prerogative to dismiss his servants from official situation,

tuations whenever he pleases; and, that the recal of Earl FITZWILLIAM conveyed, either directly or by implication, no degree of blame on him, or on those who advised his Majesty to the measure. Now, although the prerogatives of the Crown are admitted to be irrefragible, yet, as his Majesty, whenever he exercises any act of his prerogative, always consults his confidential servants, it is also the undoubted privilege of Parliament to investigate the cause and motive which induced those servants to advise such an act.

Is it not therefore clearly evident, that as his M——'s M——, in the present instance, repelled an investigation, and refused to explain their motives for advising his Majesty to recal the Chief Governor of Ireland in the middle of a session the most critical in point of the situation of the two kingdoms that was ever known, and at a time when it was peculiarly necessary that the people of both should be as unanimous as possible, that an high degree of blame, or even criminality, attaches, either to the person so, on a sudden, recalled, without any reason assigned, or to those who advised his recal? Indeed, my Lord, this shameless proceeding is an insult to the common sense of mankind; for however the M—— may affect, in the face of
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the world, to exculpate the noble Earl, he most evidently encourages serious charges against him, of precipitant conduct in the measures of his administration. And in this point you, my Lord, seem to coincide with the M——; nay, you feel “a strong shock of alarm” at the promptitude with which the late Chief Governor of Ireland entered upon the Catholic business. Yet, methinks your Lordship, of all men, ought to be fully impressed with the folly and danger of procrastination; as it was that fatal cause which rendered the brilliant display of your—dress and address, and courtly qualifications, before a surly and unpolished Republican Congress, null and ineffectual. Had the Commission in which you presided been well timed, there is no question but your—red-heels—chapeau-bras—and—the “*chiffelled blushes*” of your *bust*—would have been irresistible, and the United States at this day might have formed a part of the British Empire.

What applied then to America will now apply to Ireland; if concessions are to be granted, no time should be lost in granting them. How was the public mind affected when Lord FITZWILLIAM assumed the government of that kingdom? All descriptions of people looked up to him as the angel of their deliverance, and the

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guardian genius of their rights. An universal shout of acclamation burst from every part of the kingdom at once, and congratulatory addresses poured in from all quarters, all expressing as if by one voice, that Earl FITZWILLIAM, by the public measures proposed to be adopted by him, and by associating in his councils men of virtue and talents, had proved himself the true friend of Ireland, and he therefore justly merits the entire confidence of the nation. On the rumour of his recal, the addresses of condolence were, if possible, more numerous and expressive. "They lamented that they were about to be deprived of a Chief Governor who had endeared himself to the country by repressing prodigality, corruption, and venality, and by his endeavors to unite a whole nation in one common band of brotherly affection. His departure," they added, "would leave them hopeless, inasmuch as they dreaded, that the same men who had lately exercised the government, would resume their power and their places, and consequently, that the venal, profuse, and tyrannical measures of the former A——— would be systematically persevered in."

There is one passage in Lord FITZWILLIAM's Letters, from which I cannot avoid dissenting. He observes, that to his measures Mr. P—— has

has no objection; and he predicts that he will adopt them by the medium of his successor. But, hitherto the course of events has not verified this prediction. Its accomplishment, notwithstanding, may be intended by the M—— at a future and more convenient period; at a period when an UNION of the two kingdoms seems ambiguously alluded to, as the stipulated price of further concessions. To effect an UNION, in the present temper of the times, would indeed be an Herculean achievement, almost as arduous as to join the two countries by a bridge or a causeway. At the same time, it must be confessed, that no attempt appears too arduous for a M——, endued with colossal power to undertake, except—relinquishing that power. The world, however, has only to judge of future designs by existing measures, and those do not warrant any such conjecture; on the contrary, the Catholic Emancipation Bill has been since thrown out in the Irish House of Commons by a great majority; by a majority which a month before was prepared most obsequiously to support the measure.

My Lord, such unblushing venality, such public turpitude, and such political prostitution, speak more emphatically for the necessity of a Parliamentary Reform in Ireland, than volumes

of the most convincing and most eloquent declamation.

These are the methods, these are the arts, the M—— employs to effectuate his purposes, and to preserve his dominancy. By such manœuvring he has ruled for twelve years a cringing and cowering nation, with the iron sceptre of a Despot.

But lest, through the rising indignation of the people, this system, in Ireland, should fail, he seems determined, “with a mighty hand and an “out-stretched arm,” to support it. Why else are the just demands of the Roman Catholics refused, after hope and expectancy had been so long held out to them? Why else, at this awful crisis, are troops transporting to Ireland?—What! Is it by the blood-stained arms of a shattered and discomfited army the M—— proposes to conciliate the affections of a nation? Is it by transferring the seat of war from the fateful banks of the Sambre and the Scheldt to the Shannon and the Boyne, he would settle its disputes and reconcile its differences? This might do, perhaps, to suppress the irregular sallies of illegal insurrection; but it is quite another affair, when a people, united and unanimous—when FOUR MILLIONS of voices demand, in a constitutional but determined tone, a redress
of

of grievances. Is it—that the Empire is still too unwieldy after the loss of America,—that he wishes to disincumber it of Ireland also?—Or, has there not been blood enough spilled,—or, are not the people sufficiently taxed,—that measures harsh, and coercive, and unprecedented in the history of the English Constitution are to be persisted in?

To be able to effect such things, is doubtless a proof of uncommon ability in the M——, or of uncommon stupidity in the people. Yet, if we seek for other great talents in Mr. P——, than those requisite for corrupting and securing parliamentary majorities, we shall seek in vain. His inflated Projects, that promised such prodigious things, have produced only abortions. His schemes and his expedients,—begun in fire and flame,—have uniformly ended in fume and vapour. Yet unadmonished and undismayed by a series of dreadful disasters, defeated in all his plans, and duped by all his allies, he still perseveres with unaccountable infatuation to carry on a ruinous war, and to drive,—by measures as irritating as unjust, a greatly injured people to rebellion and despair. But the M—— is alarmed!—"Will that M——" observes Mr. GRATTAN, "who has lost Flanders—who has lost Holland—who has lost part of Germany
" — who

" —who has subsidized Catholics—who has
 " gone to German Catholics for every penny-
 " worth of blood and pound of flesh he has sacri-
 " ficed, will *he* rather continue to lose the empire
 " by subsidizing Catholics, than preserve the
 " Constitution and the empire by Catholic
 " Irish? The M—— is alarmed! was he
 " alarmed at the loss of the West Indies—was
 " he alarmed at the loss of Holland—was he
 " alarmed at the successive defeats of our armies?
 " No; this he bore with fortitude; but when the
 " people of Ireland are brought within the consti-
 " tution, then tears! tears such as ministers should
 " shed over falling empires; tears such as the se-
 " nate of Carthage shed, when, unmoved at the
 " defeat of their HANNIBAL, they wept at the
 " miscarriage of a petty cabal!" However, the
 time may, possibly, not be very remote, when
 this alarming M——, this *shepherd's boy*, shall
 call for help, but call in vain—when the wolf is
really approaching.

My Lord, it is a circumstance of true glory
 to be objectionable to Mr. P——, because ta-
 lents, virtue and public spirit are incompatible
 with the servile subserviency that he requires.
 By recalling Earl FITZWILLIAM from a go-
 vernment, by him so auspiciously commenced,
 " he has," indeed, " deposed a faithful servant
 " of

"of the Crown, and a beneficial Governor
 "for the people of Ireland;" and, let me add,
 a Governor better qualified than any other man
 in his Majesty's dominions to represent his Ma-
 jesty in that kingdom, and to conciliate the af-
 fections of every description of its inhabitants.
 —The W—— A—— has been bruted by
 the m——l Trumpeters, as a model of Vicere-
 gal wisdom and conduct, and invidiously oppo-
 sed to the Government of Earl FITZWILLIAM;
 it will be seen by the contrast, what qualities
 are necessary in a M——'s estimation to con-
 stitute the wisdom of an Irish Viceroy.

The political crimes and turpitude, which
 for ages harrassed and oppressed the devoted
 Kingdom of Ireland, were, during Lord W——'s
 Viceroyship matured and perfected. The most
 scandalous venality was, with brazen effrontery,
 openly practised. The Peerage was publicly
 sold for money, to any one rich or shameless
 enough to become a purchaser.—Such a Traf-
 fic, my Lord, so infamous and impudent, is a
 pointed satire on the very nature and essence of
 titled honours, and most degrading to the dig-
 nity of the House of Lords. The Forces which
 were to remain in Ireland for its defence were
 sent to be butchered on the Continent, express-
 ly

ly contrary to law, and at the imminent risque of losing the country. Immense sums of the public money were lavished on the unqualified traffic of human flesh, without legal sanction, account or security. In fine, almost all the places and offices of profit and trust were, on the eve of the said Chief G——r's departure, distributed among his creatures and adherents, and their very reversions so bestowed as to put them out of the power of the Crown for years to come.

To overthrow this shameless System, and to substitute in its place—wise, just, and patriotic measures—form the grand features of Earl FITZWILLIAM's administration. In effecting this, he displayed extraordinary Talents and Integrity;—he associated in his councils, men of the first-rate abilities, and of the most unblemished reputation, men who had justly acquired the unbounded confidence of the People, and who served their country without place or pension;—he united all Parties in the support of a hateful and ruinous war,—not that the nation approved of either its principles or continuance, but from the generous resolution,—even while inevitable destruction seemed impending,—“that
“ Ireland would share the fate of, and stand
“ or

“or fall with Great Britain;”—he obtained, in consequence, unprecedented supplies of men and money towards the defence of the empire;—he overthrew the hydra of corruption, and had he remained, would effectually have destroyed it;—lastly, the grand object of his benevolent policy extended even to the cottages of the poor, who were at length, after long complaining, relieved from the distressing Hearth Tax. He encouraged the breweries, and restrained the immoderate consumption of spirituous liquors, which had so dreadfully affected the health, morals, and industry, of the lower orders. He abolished the odious and detested Police; an institution that answered no other purpose than—to increase patronage, to tax and oppress the country, and to disgrace and corrupt the magistracy. He regulated the Treasury Board, which before was managed with scandalous and lavish profusion. He preferred a character—pre eminent in learning and virtue—to the Primacy, and, contrary to precedent, but conformable to justice, he appointed from out of the University the person best qualified to govern it. Lastly, the grand object of his administration was the total emancipation of the Roman Catholics, a subject which has been already fully treated of.

By having performed so much in so short a time, we may form an idea,—what immense advantages would have accrued to Ireland, had

Earl FITZWILLIAM remained the accustomed term of three years in the Government : his own estate in that country is an epitome of what the whole island would probably have been,—a terrestrial Paradise—where all is smiling, prosperous and happy, where the peasants are substantial farmers, and the farmers—gentlemen. But alas! in the midst of this golden dream, while the Viceroy was assiduously employed in correcting abuses and redressing grievances,—while he was meditating on plans for future improvements, he was suddenly recalled.

The ignominy and treachery of this precipitate measure rests entirely on those, who, with more than Prussian perfidy, first cajoled the nation of their resources, and afterwards refused to redress those grievances which they had previously stipulated, should be the reward of its generous and unexampled contributions.

My Lord!—I know not which more excites my indignant astonishment,—the desperate temerity of the m——, or—the slavish versatility of the majority of the I—— P——; the first,—in urging, at such a critical and unseasonable time—his dictatorial measures, and trampling—with haughty arrogance, the laws of honour and justice under his feet; and the other,—in veering about,—a true political weather-cock,—to his every breath, equally complying whether that breath is to move it a point, or whirl it round the

the whole compass of corruption. In vain do reason, justice, honour, danger, and necessity plead;—there sit the hirelings of venality, collected from brothels, taverns, and gaming tables, vociferating for the question, while the most convincing logic is scoffed at, and the most brilliant eloquence unheeded. These deaf adders, prone and creeping in all the mire and filth of political prostitution, “shut their ears to the voice of the “charmer—charm he ever so wisely,” and decide on every salutary and patriotic motion, by a previous question, or a vote of adjournment.

What can be expected from persisting in such a scheme of government?—what but general indignation, irretrievable confusion, and ultimate ruin to the empire.

At this awfully eventful period, when every new day teems with some dreadful and unlooked-for vicissitude—when the old frame of civil institutes is unhinged and disjointed, and the Thrones of the earth are shaken to their foundations—when the dangerous Secret has gone forth, never—never to be recalled, THAT THE PEOPLE, ACTING IN CONCERT, AND CONSCIOUS OF THEIR POWER, ARE IRRESISTIBLE, there are but two possible expedients that G—— can make use of, to allay the rising ferment of discontent and disaffection—COERCION and REDRESS. The first cannot produce permanent effects, while its immediate operation

mult

must be terrible; but the other, as it is founded on the immutable laws of justice and humanity, must be the safest, easiest, and most durable, because it secures obedience to the laws, and loyalty to the throne, on the surest of all tenures

---THE LOVE OF THE PEOPLE.

I look therefore to the speedy and total emancipation of the Irish Roman Catholics as an event of certitude; for it is not to be imagined, that the M—— can be so frantic as to light up the torch of civil war to prevent it. He will at last yield to that dernier subterfuge, which his arrogance and incapacity have so often compelled him to submit to—"Existing circumstances."

From this great measure, whenever it takes place, I augur the happiest consequences. It must eventually induce a Reform in the Constitution, as indeed it will be in itself a reform of infinite importance. Under this impression, my Lord, I indulge a rational hope, that the British Constitution, without convulsion or confusion, will gradually re-assume its pristine spirit and purity, and that the British Empire will once more flourish, the envy and admiration of all nations.

O' CONNOR.

